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THE WAR

As Viewed at the University

Selections from Addresses and Papers
by Members of the Teaching Staff
during the Summer of 1917

"For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe to the man that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle that we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations." - *President Wilson.*

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Introduction

By Dr. John A. Widtsoe, President of the University.

In a free land the schools and colleges are the clear eyes, the keen ears, the prophetic voices, of the people. In them are trained the arms and brains of the people. In the hour of great need, Universities must not be silent. In these trying days, the men and women of the University of Utah have fearlessly spoken and helpfully acted. Several of their addresses are herein printed, and others may appear in a future bulletin.

The clearest fact connected with our entrance into the world war is that we used our utmost endeavors to keep out of war. We entered the conflict when it became certain that the existence of our own country was endangered. As the great war went on, our nation perceived that a foe to the growth of human liberty had arisen—a foe which for many years had prepared for the overthrow of representative governments—a foe which utterly repudiates the doctrine that every person is entitled to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”—a foe which has deceived and ensnared a sound people, essentially liberty-loving, into fighting its battles—a foe which had laid its plans to attack our own institutions for the promotion of human happiness, built at the cost of the blood of our fathers.

We accept the responsibility that destiny has placed upon us. This land, in which the largest human liberty has been won and developed, must be preserved, that its citizens may become even freer, and that, by our example, all nations may gather the courage to free themselves from tyranny and oppression.

There is no hate in our fighting except the hate of injustice and slavery. There is no lust for conquest in our warfare, but only a living hope that we may help in bringing to all people equal rights, equal opportunities, and happier lives. We aim, moreover, to make impossible the repetition of this wanton, cruel, and barbarous warfare—the blackest blot on the history of civilization.



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Why Are We at War?

By Milton Bennion, Dean of the School of Education.

From one point of view it is a difficult task to talk on international peace, arbitration, and conciliation when almost all the world is at war. On the other hand there is perhaps no time when the value of peace and the things upon which it depends can be so much appreciated as in the midst of or immediately following a great, destructive war. It is easy now to see of what great benefit to humanity arbitration and conciliation might have been had all the political leaders of the world only the sense of justice and humanity to employ these means of settlement instead of resorting to military force.

America, in its isolation from the military establishments of Europe, has cultivated the aims of an industrial democracy, and with these aims has nursed a feeling of security even while the old world was torn with strife. We have scarcely yet realized that we are actually at war and that in the next few months may be required to make enormous sacrifices in human life and in the material goods that support life. The time for argument as to whether we should or should not participate in the war is past. The present is a time for carefully planned but nevertheless most strenuous action. There is and always must be a limit to individualism. In a democracy every citizen may freely advocate his opinion while any matter is pending for decision; but when a decision has been made by the will of the majority, and when the life of the nation is at stake, as it must be in warfare, the citizen is in duty bound to do his part to protect that common life. To prolong the discussion is to give aid and comfort to the enemy and weakens the defensive powers of the nation. There is, fortunately, little excuse for any peace-loving American citizen to continue his opposition to our participation in the war.

When, at the birth of the American nation, a group of liberty-loving patriots adopted the Declaration of Independence, they said: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

These words need only be paraphrased in terms of the present international situation to correctly account for our being in this war. We have been more patient and long-suffering in preserving our neutrality than were the Revolutionary fathers in enduring their wrongs. This has come about in part because many of the causes that led us into this war at first seemed too remote or too abstract to command the support of the great mass of American people in war measures. Let us examine some of these causes:

In the summer of 1914 Austria sent an ultimatum to Servia, requiring immediate compliance with Austria's demand if war would be averted. The smaller and weaker nation was given no opportunity to settle the questions at issue in an international court of arbitration and she was powerless to defend herself against one of the great military powers. Russia could not well permit Austria to engage in an aggressive war against any of the Balkan states. She, therefore, began mobilizing her army. Germany, as an ally of Austria, thereupon issued an ultimatum to Russia demanding immediate demobilization; but, instead of attacking Russia she made a very sudden attack upon France—Russia's ally. As she wished to strike France at the most vulnerable point on her frontier she chose the route through Belgium, contrary to international law and her treaty obligations. Great Britain had guaranteed the independence of Belgium and was also vitally concerned in her own interest in maintaining the independence and integrity of this small state.

The invasion of Belgium was such a clear case of international crime that the sympathies of many neutrals, including our own country, were at once aroused. Many Americans would have gone to war at once in defense of Belgium. Had we been situated as England was we doubtless should

have done so. The American consciousness of the Monroe doctrine and the general aversion to mixing in European affairs—the counter-part of the Monroe doctrine—were doubtless the chief factors in restraining us from war. The large number of American citizens of German birth or German descent and the respect of many Americans for the achievements of German civilization were further restraining factors. From this time, nevertheless, the sympathies of the great mass of Americans were with the Allies, and that sympathy was directly extended to the Belgians in the form of food and other supplies.

With the failure of the Germans to bring their military campaign to a speedy and successful conclusion they began to devise ways of overcoming Great Britain's command of the sea. This they were not able to do by the ordinary methods of warfare. International law and the rights of neutrals had not been allowed to stand in the way of success on land; why presume that they should do so on the sea? At first, however, the protests of the American government were heeded, and restraints were placed upon submarine warfare. It is now manifest that these restraints were the result of prudence rather than of principle. As soon as the German government concluded that unrestricted submarine warfare was necessary to success, it cast aside all law and former diplomatic assurance and launched its savage attacks upon enemy non-combatants and neutrals. This was the culmination of the series of causes that led to a state of war between Germany and our own country.

Had the crimes committed against the small states of Europe been directed against any American state, we should have been at war as promptly as was Great Britain following the invasion of Belgium. We cannot, therefore, do otherwise than approve the course taken by Great Britain and lend to her and to her allies our moral support. The extension of German defiance of international law and treaty obligations to our own interests gave an occasion for war that the most conservative American could not well resist.

We should not mistake the cause for breaking off diplomatic relations for the sole or even the chief cause of the war. Our chief cause for war is that we may have a lasting

peace. Peace depends upon respect for law, regard for justice, and fidelity to treaties and other international obligations. The course pursued by the central powers of Europe, if allowed to succeed, means the substitution of military power for social morality.

If a promise is not to be kept except when convenient it has no value whatsoever; this is to deny that veracity in public affairs is a virtue. If international law can be violated and the violators escape punishment, these laws become void, and civilization is, in this respect, set back several centuries.

The might of one group that sets up might as right must be overcome by the co-operative action of many who are willing to combine their strength in the interests of truth, law, justice, freedom, and all the higher and better things of civilization. We are in the war because we believe in these things and because we are determined that they shall not perish from the earth.

The Pillars of Liberty

By J. H. Paul, Professor of Natural Science.

What, then, are the things which America defends with her might, and seeks to give to all mankind?—the things also which Germany has abolished wherever her power extends, and which she now attempts to overthrow and utterly destroy?

Unlike the Germans, our soldiers know what they are fighting for; and here are fourteen of the liberties for which they stand:

I. THE CHARTER OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

The fundamental difference between American and German ideals and methods of government is shown in the respective national constitutions. Ours begins, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do hereby ordain and establish this Constitution." The German national charter opens

with the words, "I, William, king of Prussia, emperor of Germany," etc., "do hereby grant unto my subjects" the following privileges.

That is, in America the people delegate to their servants, the elected officers of government, certain powers of action for the general good; and any powers not so delegated are reserved to the States or are retained by the people. In Germany the rulers are the source of power, and they bestow certain privileges upon the people.

The spirit, the voice, of America, as far back as 1776, was: "We, the people". A century later, when Germany found her voice, she could only say: "I, William". On the one hand, "all men are created equal," with "inalienable rights," "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; on the other, the kaiser, kings, princes, generals, "granting privileges," which are subject to revocation. What these American "rights", these German "privileges", are, we now shall see.

II. TRIAL BY JURY.

The precious right of being judged by one's peers and neighbors is a feature of the jurisprudence of every English-speaking country. It is totally unknown in Germany and Austria, though something akin to it is believed to have been practiced in ancient times among the free Germanic tribes. Today, in all Central Europe, the word of the magistrate is the sole means of court decision, and is final. In those countries, many people have been deprived of life, liberty or property at the opinion, the prejudice, or even the whim of an official not responsible to the citizens. Not that German officials are often corrupt, but that the accident of a good judge is offset by the accident of a poor or prejudiced one; and this is the fact that has no palliation or remedy under the autocratic methods of Central Europe.

III. HABEAS CORPUS.

It is a curious and instructive fact that the invaluable American and English right known as habeas corpus, established in Britain in the year 1213, after long and bloody warfare of the barons against tyrant kings, did not find its way

into the German Constitution till 1871. In English practice, for six centuries before its appearance in the German charter, it meant that any person seized by the authorities of the law could have the cause of his arrest or imprisonment immediately inquired into before a competent court in public session. In Germany, since 1871, though it resembles the ancient English right, the provision is of no value to any one accused of disloyalty, treason, or kindred offenses; for it merely insures the government against making mistakes as to the persons whom it prosecutes; though, of course, the writ may protect the prisoner against the malice of petty officials in cases that do not involve loyalty to the government.

IV. ARRESTS.

In America and England, no arrests can be made, except for crime committed at the time, neither can any one's premises be searched, without a warrant issued by the court. In Central Europe the people are never secure, even in their own homes, against searches, seizures, imprisonment, or banishment, at the bare suspicion of officers and magistrates. In all English-speaking lands, "a man's house is his castle;" and no one, whether president, king, premier, or other official, may enter the house against the owner's will, except under the forms and legal processes prescribed by the statutes.

V. A SPEEDY TRIAL.

Our Constitution guarantees and secures to persons accused of crime, a speedy trial. In Central Europe persons accused of political offenses, or suspected of disloyalty, have sometimes languished for years in prison without trial, and often without knowing for what offense they were incarcerated.

VI. COURT PROCEDURE.

Trials are so conducted in America as to give to the person accused the benefit of the doubt when testimony is conflicting, and the rules of evidence are so contrived as to shield him altogether from certain classes of testimony, such as rumor, opinion, and facts that do not bear directly on the

case. In Central Europe any one may be a witness, and may testify in any way and to anything he chooses; and witnesses may freely slander the person at the bar of justice.

VII. FREE SPEECH.

Here and elsewhere in the English-speaking world, there is freedom of speech and of the press; and, in the event of prosecution, the truth of any assertion is almost a complete defense. In Central Europe there is no freedom of speech, even in the parliaments; and an adverse opinion concerning the government or rulers, when too freely expressed, has cost many a person there his liberty, property, or life. Freedom of the press in Central Europe is strictly limited by the governments; and at the present time consists in publishing what the authorities direct. Thus the German papers have recently printed, as news from America, that the Liberty Loan was a gigantic failure; that America was unable to raise an army; and that the only man who enlisted from Monterey, Cal., had his picture published as a sort of curiosity in the San Francisco Examiner; that the attempt to enlist men for the aviation service having failed in America, troops of girls were now being trained for that purpose; and so on.

VIII. TREASON.

How to avoid giving offense to the powers that be, has been for ages the chief terror of the people of Germany and Austria, not to mention Turkey and Bulgaria. In America treason consists only of overt acts in levying war against the Republic; and the Supreme Court has held that a conspiracy to levy war against this country is not treason unless war is actually levied. In Germany no one can say what treason is or is not. The government there is the sole judge of treason and disloyalty, which may consist of any deed, word, look, gesture, that the rulers may choose to construe as unfriendly to themselves or to the system they represent.

In time of peace it is very difficult to commit the crime of treason in America. Slander or denunciation of the government or its agents is not treason, if spoken in times of

peace. But when war is actually being levied against the Republic, any speech or act that amounts to adhering to the enemies of the country, or that gives them aid and comfort, is treasonable.

That is, speech is free, but each person is responsible for his utterances. One is held for what he says, just as for what he does. Whoever advises crime is himself guilty of that crime if others commit it at his suggestion. Those who speak against the draft law, for example, or urge revolt against any war measure of the government, are alike responsible with those who resist or revolt. Those who lead others to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the country are themselves, as well as their dupes, guilty of treason. Persons who address assemblies and urge resistance to the war are guilty of treason if any persons are led by such addresses to commit overt acts of resistance. Those who make threats against the Republic at war are leading to destruction both themselves and whoever may execute such threats; for the penalty for treason is death.

IX. EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

No title of nobility can be granted in America, and all citizens are equal before the law, while aliens are at no special disadvantage under our system. German and Austrian titles, numerous and complicated, create inequalities and special privileges of great meaning and power; while, by means of various legal fictions, the divine right of rulers—"the right divine of kings to govern wrong," as an English poet expresses it—is openly flaunted by the rulers themselves. Our people reject, instinctively, all such claims to birth from blue or other superior blood; because, in the language of one of our poets,

"They know, when veins are bled,
That the blue blood is the putrid blood,
For the people's blood is red."

X. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We enjoy freedom of religious belief and worship. In Central Europe a magistrate may banish or imprison, with-

out real judicial hearing, the expounders of any faiths not officially licensed by the state. A German has written me that he was threatened with exile for saying that heaven would punish Germany if freedom to preach were not granted. When meetings of unlicensed churches are permitted, it is still unlawful to preach, pray, or sing, at these meetings.

XI. THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

America has practically universal manhood suffrage and a great and rapidly increasing amount of womanhood suffrage. The German manhood suffrage is limited, and is cunningly frustrated by a system that allows one vote of an ancient landholder to outweigh the vote of a whole town of workingmen. Even so, the German voters do not choose many of the officials.

XII. CIVIL SUPREMACY.

Here the military is subordinate to the civil power. There the German officer is so much superior to the civilian that the officer is in honor bound to strike down with his sword any civilian who by word, look, or deed seems to the officer to offer an affront to the military uniform. Just before the war a German officer thus struck down a crippled cobbler of Alsace. Such acts now and then arouse the German people, but in America they would lead at once to open rebellion and wholesale bloodshed. Moreover, the policies of the German government are framed by the general military staff. Not even the Chancellor nor the Reichstag has any voice in them; and the Kaiser himself may be unable to vary the decision of these dictators as to what must be done, whether that be the sinking of a *Lusitania* or the massacre of a city.

XIII. A SUPREME COURT.

Here a Supreme Court passes on all controversies that involve the constitutional rights of the people or that arise from disputes between States. Such a supreme court for the world as a whole has been the constant aim of our country at peace conferences. The one nation that has always

held out against a supreme world-court, in which nations would be compelled to adjust their differences without war, is Germany. At the last Hague conference, Germany and her satellite nations prevented the adoption of the plans of the American representatives for universal, compulsory arbitration. The only supreme tribunal known in Germany is the will of the kaiser.

XIV. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

In America and England a congress or parliament elected by the untrammelled vote of the citizens decides upon all national issues, and has the sole right of declaring war. There the kaiser decides, and he alone (or, as the German papers claim, the crown prince) brought on the world-war. The reichstag was not even convened or consulted, though it is elected by a privileged few and might therefore have been trusted. But this German-parliament has no real power and does only what any debating society can do—that is, it presents arguments. The so-called chancellor, unlike the premier of Britain, is not responsible to the people as a whole nor even to any party; he simply does the emperor's bidding.

This list of political differences between America and Germany is far from complete; but why go on? It is not difficult to find fault even with our own free and just government, yet to improve it is a slow and difficult process of legislation and experience. Today we must choose either Germany and its despotism or America and its freedom.

Already the light of Europe, whose civilization and culture have been the inspiration and guide of mankind for centuries, is in danger of being extinguished by the deluge of blood and destruction let loose upon the nations by the German onslaught. The triumph of Germany would mean the downfall of the moral and political ideals upon which this republic is based; and human freedom, in the American sense, would have to battle anew for its existence.

May heaven forgive, for their children may not, those who speak lightly of the liberties for which the flower of our youth now offer their lives on the fields of battle. For all who have a part in planning, or a hand in executing, any

deed that tends to obstruct, weaken, or delay the action of America in this day of high resolution and peril, shall receive the opprobrium of the verdict of history, and shall be held to answer for their enormous crime at the bar of eternal justice.

What Is at Stake?

By George Emory Fellows, Professor of History and Political Science.

Would that I had the ability and opportunity to make clear to every inhabitant of all America how fundamental are the principles involved in this war in which we are engaged. Have we, each one, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? or are we to obey the arrogant commands of an irresponsible and dominating autocratic and militaristic power, now and forever?

The issue is as clear cut as this: Our citizens, men, women and children, going peacefully about their business and pleasure, are torpedoed into ocean graves, without warning; then, for these outrages, belated and false explanations are made, or none at all. For nearly three years this went on, then came the official announcement of the German government that all the world which might cross an imaginary and arbitrary line on the high seas would be ruthlessly sent to the bottom, and we found ourselves in war whether we declared it or not.

If ever in the history of the world there was a righteous war, this is one on the part of the United States and those whose interests are the same, that is, those who fight because they are attacked, or to enforce respect for treaties, or repel invasion.

As time goes on, we know more positively where to locate the responsibility for this world turmoil. In the early days of the war there were many varying opinions because of lack of information. False documents were issued and much effort of the guilty party employed in trying to fix the blame on others, and in endeavoring to make it appear

that the obvious aggressor was fighting a defensive war. But one fact after another has come to the surface, and, stripped of all falsity, the truth is that the Prussian Junker class, led by the House of Hohenzollern, began a brutal and barbarous attack on a peaceful and industrious neighbor, which Prussia, with others, had sworn in a solemn treaty to protect.

There is no longer any value in discussing the petty things put forward by Emperor William and the military party as reasons for the war, such as the murders at Sarajevo, the mobilization of the Russian army, the belief that France intended to invade Belgium, or already had invaded Germany, and Germany in self-defense was compelled to move first, etc. The rock bottom of truth is that the Hohenzollerns from their first acquiring Brandenburg, by purchase, in the fifteenth century, have steadily enlarged their boundaries and authority, always by force. Their own statements of policy and the publications of those who speak for Prussian policy have always been to the effect that Prussia must and should be enlarged and become more powerful and extend the benefits of her own greatness to others.

Not to go back of 1866, when she forced Austria out of Germany, and 1870, when she brought the other German states under her into an empire, it is obvious that the great purpose was not so much to have a united and progressive Germany as to enlarge the territory and population to be swayed by Prussia. Then the Prussian leaders spoke of greater ambitions, in the name of Germany, and thus they have the added weight of imperial organization to further the schemes for imposing Prussian kultur on the remainder of the world.

For forty years every nerve has been strained to enlarge and strengthen the army, build a great navy, and inculcate the idea of *world power* in all the youth of German birth, until the great DAY when some incident should be seized upon to justify the first active steps in this world dominion.

All this was so skilfully done that when the time came, Austria, former rival and enemy, serves as a tool to aid this overpowering ambition of Prussia. Indeed, she can

scarcely help herself. She cannot afford to oppose the pan-German plan or kultur's world propaganda.

Every preparation that could well be imagined had been made to make a successful campaign, first against France, then England, then the United States, and the world. Believing as do those who support the Hohenzollerns' idea that force is all that counts, Germany had prepared all that was necessary for this world domination. At the beginning of the war, Germany was infinitely better prepared than any of her enemies, or than all of those who have since joined to resist autocracy's kultur gone mad.

Germany had the Kiel canal, prime essential in controlling the Baltic and North seas, more and better submarines than anyone else, a fleet of Zeppelins, which no other nation had, a larger, better equipped standing army than any other nation. Her navy, second only to that of Great Britain, would soon be first, for submarines would soon dispose of the British fleet. In fact, Germany had everything necessary, on the basis that force alone counts, to begin, and successfully end the conquest of the world; but, thank God, there is something in the world besides force, and it is something that force alone cannot overcome. Germany took no account of the possible resistance of a spirit of liberty and justice. This cannot be measured in terms of submarines, Zeppelins, caliber of howitzers, and "schrecklichkeit."

Germany did not merely attack little Belgium and half-prepared France, but stirred England to defend the sacredness of treaties, and nearly all the rest of the world to resist the arrogant assumption that force and kultur are superior to and can overcome justice, humanity, and the spirit of democracy.

As the war has gone on from weeks to months and years, the issue has become clearer, until now it stands out so plain that phrase-makers and pacifist cranks can no longer befog the controversy. It is DEMOCRACY AGAINST AUTOCRACY, the highest ideals worked out by man during all the centuries of growing civilization against primitive barbarian force.

But this force is not wielded with the clumsiness of the prehistoric man with his club. Human genius through the

whole period of recorded time has been drawn upon to make the drive for world-power a success. The inventive abilities of all nations have been drawn upon, the scientific and mechanical devices for the industries of peace and war have all been utilized. An amazing ability for organization has enabled the German government not only to arrange every detail of mobilization and transportation for the beginning of the war, but to fill peaceful and friendly nations with spies who should, at command, endeavor to sow dissension, breed revolution, and disintegrate the governments before any suspicion of hostility had arisen.

Is there any holier task for the United States, which stands before all the world as the example of successful democratic government and of the greatest possibilities in development of a free people, than to combat, with all its energy, and fight to a conclusion, the attempt to turn the world backward and use the achievements of all times and even of democracy itself to firmly establish autocracy in all the earth?

Perhaps we should blame ourselves for not being alarmed at the German program long before the war began. Books had been published to show the supreme excellence of kultur and the necessity of imposing it upon all the world. Hear an extract or two, from General Bernhardt's "Germany and the Next War" (several editions—last in 1914):

"The duties and obligations of the German people cannot be fulfilled without drawing the sword. The moral duty of the state is to begin the struggle while prospects of success and the political circumstances are still tolerably favorable, when hostile states are weakened or hampered by affairs at home or abroad.

"Efforts toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race. The weak nation to have the same right to live as the powerful and vigorous nation? The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on the natural laws of development. The law of the strong holds good everywhere. Might is the supreme right and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the

arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision.

"War is not only a necessary element in the life of nations, but an indispensable factor in kultur. Our own country, by employing its military powers, has attained a degree of kultur which it never could have reached by peaceful development. Christian morality is based indeed on the law of love. "Love God above all things and thy neighbor as thyself." This law can have no significance for the relations of one country to another."

From "Operations on the Sea," by Freiherr von Edelsheim, formerly on the German general staff:

"As a matter of fact, Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States. The land corps can either advance aggressively against the concentrated opposing forces or through embarking evade an attack and land at a new place," etc. Many details of method.

From the beginning of his reign, in 1888, Kaiser Wilhelm II has repeatedly in public addresses expressed ambition for world leadership. Here is an extract from one of his earlier addresses:

"Remember that you are the chosen people. The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the German Emperor. * * * Woe and death to those who oppose my will. Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission."

In reading these we have thought they were merely bombastic expressions of vain and egotistic men, somewhat like what we have called in our country the "spread-eagle oratory" of the Fourth of July speaker. But now we know that every boast and plan was uttered in all seriousness and that the big words were not windy oratory, but expressions of honest belief in the superiority of everything German, and of a firm determination to force the world to its recognition. I have many times in my classes or public lectures called attention to these speeches of the Emperor with the idea that they were to be taken seriously only by Germans who chose to worship Divine Right of Kings. But I see now how gravely I was mistaken. He meant every word and he led his people to prepare for world dominion.

So thoroughly has this idea been burned into the mili-

tary and other ruling classes that they have become utterly indifferent to the opinion of the rest of the world. One of them, Zimmerman, recent foreign minister, said in a pompous tone at a large public assembly to American Ambassador Gerard, "We care nothing for treaties." Another, Major General von Disfurth, published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "No object whatever can be served by taking any notice of the accusations of barbarity leveled against Germany by her foreign critics. We owe no explanation to any one. Whatever act is committed by our troops for the purpose of discouraging, defeating and destroying the enemy is a brave act and fully justified. Germany stands the supreme arbiter of her own methods. War is war.

"They call us barbarians. What of it? We scorn them and their abuse. For my part I hope in this war we have merited the title "barbarians." Let neutral peoples and our enemies cease their empty chatter, which may well be compared to the twitter of birds. Our troops must achieve victory. What else matters?"

It is difficult for any of us to comprehend this cast of mind. The tendency of civilization from the earliest times has been toward the thought that there are higher sentiments than those inspired by mere power. Certainly since the foundation of Christianity we look to Christian nations to "play fair" even in a conflict. Every effort seems to have been made to inculcate into the universal German mind this thought, so clearly expressed by General von Disfurth, "achieve victory, what else matters?"

Here we have a curious combination of primitive savage and mediæval despot making fullest use of all the most highly developed sciences of the twentieth century to accomplish objects worthy only of uncivilized tribes; and the worst of it all is that to resist this kind of thing those who wish to "play fair" are at the greatest disadvantage and are therefore compelled to use the engines of destruction and other means employed by those who "care nothing for treaties," and who "glory in being barbarians."

So now we are waging a war against war. A war to subdue the last powerful group of nations which does not have either parliamentary and truly representative govern-

ment, or republican institutions. All of North and South America, even Asia and Africa, and all Europe save Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey recognize and use popular or parliamentary government. We do not wish to subdue them in order to impose on them any particular form or organization of government, but to teach them by the only means they seem to understand or comprehend that they may not now or ever in the future impose upon the majority of the world an autocratic system which has fully served its purpose, if it ever had one, and should have been laid away half a century or more ago, when the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people had become widely established.

It is a question of life or death for democracy, independence, and popular government. Ask yourself what would happen if Germany wins this war and see if you can feel any joy or comfort in the prospect.

It is not now necessary to relate in any detail the almost unbelievable atrocities that have been perpetrated. They have been amply proven and retold in newspapers and magazines. Think of the possibility of being under the rule of a government that directs or encourages the dropping of bombs on hospitals and torpedoing hospital ships, not to mention a thousand other deeds that display an ingenuity no less than satanic! Ambassador Gerard has verified the fact that the Crown Prince boasted to an American more than three years ago that if a general war did not come before his father's death he himself, as soon as he should come to the throne, would "make war and conquer the world."

Defeat of the Allies means submission of all of them to whatever Prussianism may choose to impose. Already it has been announced that colossal indemnities are planned to be collected from the cities of our Atlantic seaboard. What more might follow in every line of possible oppression we need not try to conceive. *German victory must not come!* It would undo the progress of the centuries. We cannot believe such a thing to be possible. Tyrants and oppressors have been overthrown all along the ages. History is strewn with the wrecks of despotisms, and popular sovereignty has come out of the conflicts for nearly all the nations of the

globe. Surely now when the supreme test has come, the flower of human development, Democracy, must not and can not be withered by an outworn despotism that has lingered on into the twentieth century.

Some of the poison-tongued traitors who have tried to block our government in its preparations have hissed out the old stock phrase of the middle ages, "This is a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." A trifle of investigation and reflection will show the utter falsity of this statement. The sons of the best known wealthy men of the whole country have enlisted and are already serving in foreign fields. Some of those who have already died for the cause have been the sons of American millionaires. Exemptions from compulsory service are given in greater proportion to the poor than to the rich. The poor man has more to gain under a free government, and would be helpless under kaiserism. *No*, this is everybody's war, that is, everybody who prefers liberty to despotism.

The aims of the central powers (so called, in reality, Prussia) have been no secret for several years. First is the establishment of a continuous line of railroad from the Baltic sea southeasterly through the Balkans, Turkey and Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf. This has been essentially accomplished and is now under German control with the exception of slight interference by the British in Arabia. This splits the Eastern Hemisphere. Following this success, Prussian technical efficiency has begotten such a vast self-esteem, a megalomania, that it has no doubt of the appointment by God to confer kultur on the whole world.

Contrast with these aims those of the Allies, *viz.*, enforcement of treaties, independence of peoples, safety against faithlessness, right of people to determine their own form of government. Can there be higher aims than these?

Much as we may regret the terrible circumstances that have pressed us into this war, Prussia will be the means of driving efficiency into every school, every business and every home in every nation. It is no credit to Prussia or her rulers that this is so, for they stand indicted before the bar of justice of all humanity.

I here charge William II of the house of Hohenzollern

with (1) endeavoring by force of arms and frightfulness to replace the civilization of the ages with Prussian kultur; (2) with the responsibility of burdening the coming generations with untold billions of debt; (3) with responsibility for mourning and despair in the homes of twenty-six nations of the earth; (4) with spreading over the war area the methods of barbarism and savagery belonging in past centuries to Indians, Huns and Tartars, and surpassing them as professionals surpass tyros in ingenious deviltry; (6) with accomplishing devastation and death greater than from the combined enterprises of Xerxes, Alexander, Cæsar, Nero, Charlemagne and Napoleon. Will he succeed? He has failed already. He has overreached himself. He has earned the scorn and contempt of nine-tenths of humanity, and the undercurrents of disapproval and mutterings of discontent are beginning to be heard in his own country.

Civilization has not broken down. Democracy, the ripest fruit of civilization, has only fairly begun its leavening work, and, together with Universal Peace, will encircle the globe.

“Six Things, Yea Seven”

A Talk with Strikers and Labor Unions

By J. H. Paul, Professor of Natural Science.

In the Sixth of Proverbs we read: “These six things doth the Lord hate, yea seven are an abomination unto him: A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood; a heart that deviseth wicked imaginations; feet that be swift in running into mischief, a false witness that speaketh lies, and he that soweth discord among brethren.”

I. THE PROUD LOOK.

What other people have ever affected a mein so haughty as the “proud look” of German rulers, nobles, titled officials, and medal-bedecked soldiery? Even the Prussian military martinets have at length assumed the arrogance of their masters, and today they practice an insolence that has become

intolerable among free men. These upstarts (see Gerard's account of their ways of promotion) now attempt to trample down and exploit the people of other lands. German officers often kick the privates forward to the targets if too many poor shots are made by raw recruits, or they throw the soldiers from the boat into the middle of the river if they fail, after a few trials, to swim well. If workingmen continue to strike or if congress delays, until the Germans win, will Prussian officers in vanquished America kick the private soldier? Not, I fancy, while any true American still draws the breath of life. Fellow-workers, shall we aid Germany further by strikes, lockouts, and the stoppage of production? Or shall we all stand by America?

II. THE LYING TONGUE.

Where else has falsehood been so scientifically established, the lying tongues so well trained, as in official German diplomacy? Has any truth emanated from the German government during the last three years when deception would serve better the German military aims? We see their national honor violated, their solemn covenants broken, their obligations to mankind flouted, their treaties with nations torn up as scraps of paper, whenever such perfidy appears to offer advantage to their unrighteous cause! But it may not be so generally known that many of the paroled officers on German ships interned in this country, in return for the courteous treatment and free movement accorded to them by chivalrous American guards, disregarded their sworn pledges, basely sneaked away, and absconded long before our patient government had ceased trying to maintain peace with their war-mad masters in Germany.

III. HANDS THAT SHED BLOOD.

What hands, in the earth's whole history, can compare, in the shedding of innocent blood, with what Prussian despotism must answer for in this horrible massacre of little nations? The German nobles call this the divinest war of their careers. The waifs in dying Armenia, their fathers massacred and their mothers dragged off into Turkish slavery, feebly stretch out their puny hands to America for a

crust of bread. All the children of Poland, under 6 years of age, according to the report of the American representative there, have died of starvation under the selfish and brutal robbery of food products carried out by the invading German armies. No other armies have ever been thus convicted of taking food out of the mouths of starving babies. Similar revelations of horror are now coming from Serbia and Montenegro; and only the generosity of other nations than Germany saves Belgium from wholesale famine.

IV. RUNNING INTO MISCHIEF.

What feet have been so swift as those of modern Germany in "running into mischief"? For three decades the nations of Europe have been menaced by the growing restlessness of Germany in the direction of war. Times without number have the military braggarts of Prussia engaged in war threats against unoffending neighbor nations. "Rattling the saber" has been the chief pastime of the crown prince and his supporters in their public addresses. Not even America, which was far away, which had never crossed Germany's path, and which entertained for that country and its people only the sentiments of friendship and good will, was able to escape threats of war from the haughty imperial government. Before the present war was forced upon us, on three different occasions within my memory, Germany sought war with this country, not for anything our nation had said or done, but simply because we were lawfully in possession or guardianship of territory that the German military command coveted for their value as bases for future military operations. Thus at Samoa, some twenty-five years ago, Germany actually undertook to oust us and to take possession, and finally desisted only because of the active cooperation of the British war fleet in support of ours. In the Philippines, during the war with Spain, the kaiser sent a great war fleet to wrest these islands from our approaching control—the famous expedition under Deidrich that sought to prevent Dewey from attacking the Spanish fleet. Again the British warships lined up with our own, and the Germans recoiled. Next came the German attempt to seize part of Venezuela, which was repelled by the warlike action of Mr.

Roosevelt aided by the old-time German fear of the British navy.

V. "WICKED IMAGINATIONS."

The Prussian military machine has enslaved the masses of Germany and bent the energies of a whole great nation to its sinister purposes. That it had fully resolved to put a similar yoke upon the peoples of other nations, is abundantly proved from the utterances and teachings of the official classes, and is again disclosed in the facts now being made public by Ambassador Gerard and the American government. These disclosures indicate that the Prussian military rulers are not merely the natural enemies, but the open and avowed foes, of real democracy in any form. It is plain that they have been at all times ready and willing to wage war upon free peoples. Now that these autocrats have raised this issue on so large a scale, the world cannot remain half under military despotism and half free. It will be one or the other. America must either fight or surrender to a tyranny that has made cannon fodder of the German masses, industrial drudges of the women, serfs of the children, automatons of the officials, slaves or starvelings of the civilian and non-combatant populations of the countries that it has overrun. German skilled mechanics before the war received but \$2 per day for ten hours of intense application; harvest laborers, mainly women, but 20 cents per day for a toil unheard of among women; street cleaners, 25 cents per day; common soldiers, dying in the trenches, 5 cents per day; each prisoner in Germany must exist on what 60 pfennigs (15 cents) will purchase at famine prices; and so on. And this is the pitiful fate, fellow-workers, that awaits all wage earners in countries subdued by Germany. Miners of the I. W. W., who struck at Bisbee, Arizona, for an advance from \$5 per day of eight hours to \$6 per day of six hours, will please take notice. Sheep-shearers of Wyoming who struck last summer and had their wages advanced from \$20 per day to \$40 per day will do well to observe that when, by such antics, our country is so hampered and weakened that it cannot withstand the onslaught of the helpless German masses, a day's wage of sheep-shearers

under the German rule, which they are powerfully helping to bring upon us, will not be more, and may be less, than \$2. The slow tortures which Germany allots to prisoners, and the shame with which it breaks the spirit and binds in white slavery the flower of the female populations in the countries which its armies invade—these very conditions will be your lot and the fate of your women as soon as you strikers hand this country over to Germany. You are autocracy's best allies. Every American striker is worth ten soldiers to Germany.

VI. THE FALSE WITNESS.

"A false witness that speaketh lies" has appeared in almost every labor union, saying that it matters little if Germany wins. Be it known, therefore, to all labor unions that the staggering indemnities which a victorious Germany will exact signify the practical confiscation of the accumulated capital of America. Not only so, but every home, farm, factory, mine, railroad, etc., will be mortgaged to the imperial war lords who conduct the German government, and every workingman will toil, with all his family, for generations to come to pay off the indemnity debts that will be heaped upon his shoulders. The Montclair clergyman who heads the Antisaloon league justifies his delay and obstruction of the necessary food-control law by saying: "If you are fighting Germany and the kaiser, don't bother about us. We are fighting hell and the devil, and have no time to bother about your puny, little war." But he forgot that if Germany triumphs, then his "hell and the devil" have won and his "puny little war" for prohibition will lose also among the beer-loving German princes and nobles. Then every law for which unions and workers are contending will go into the scrap heap along with all the other "scraps of paper" upon which the rights, liberties and privileges of the entire American people are recorded. The one paramount issue for all Americans today is victory over Germany. Whoever it is that says there is any other present issue till this one is disposed of—whether he be capitalist, Socialist, prohibitionist or unionist—"is a liar, and the truth is not in him" (I John 1:9).

VII SOWING DISCORD.

The last of the seven things that the Lord is declared to hate is "he that soweth discord among brethren"—a true picture of the German governmental schemes for the downfall of other nations by creating discord among them. The German spies that have filled our own unsuspecting country for decades and are still at work among us, their intrigues to stir up civil war or to promote industrial strife in this and other countries, their military maps and plans for the invasion and ruin of all free governments, their butchery, starvation or enforced slavery and degradation of innocent civilians among the little nations—Armenia, Belgium, Serbia and Russian Poland—as well as the shocking mistreatment of the non-combatant populations in the conquered provinces of France, Russia and Rumania—how strikingly does all this horrible reality correspond with the scriptural words that point to the work of German despotism! That government seeks simply to obliterate human freedom by crushing the democratic nations that uphold it, while aiding and abetting the crimes of despotisms—Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey—whose people do not even know the taste of liberty.

THE CHOICE—LIBERTY VS. SLAVERY.

But why, some workingmen have asked, should Germany hate America?—what has America ever done to her? Nothing, except that the very success of a mighty republic governed by the votes of a free people has been a constant object lesson to the German masses—a perpetual reminder of their own poverty and lack of free thought and action. It is chiefly what they have heard of America that has created unrest among the overburdened working people of Germany. It is American thought and ways that are forever stirring them on to obtain similar freedom and prosperity for themselves. The American example has thus become the chief source of irritation to the autocratic classes of Germany, and they have therefore decreed its destruction just as soon as they can put England and France out of the way in Europe. Such a republic, if German autocracy triumphs, will

not be permitted to stand. Workingmen must either serve America today or be degraded and enslaved by Germany tomorrow. Strikers or greedy capitalists, if they succeed in crippling America now, will alike be the serfs of Germany hereafter. The sole question is, Shall the American people continue to shape the policies of America? Or shall the kaiser rule America as he and his house now rule Germany? This is the only issue now before this nation.

If any union, any association of men, pretends that the present triumph of a faction is more important than the winning of this last great war against social despotism and military tyranny, then the true answer to such men is found in the words of the master law-giver of olden times: "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing, therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live" (Deut. 30:19).

America—The Land of Promise.

By Levi Edgar Young, Professor of American History.

With the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, in 1789, the nations of Europe realized the advent of a new government, where "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." The ideals of the new government were expressed in the Constitution, the first and only document of its kind in history. It promised the people freedom in religion and political life, and has always had for its fundamental thought that all men are equal, and are endowed with divine Light from God. The peoples of western Europe, still subject to the economic ideals and practices of the past, looked to the New World as the Land of Promise. Immigration began. On to the vast domain of the American Continent went the Swede, German, Englishman, Frenchman, Italian, Spaniard, and other nationalities. Penetrating the wilderness, they felled the forests, cleared the lands, dug canals and ditches, built roads and bridges,

and planted in the wilderness the *home*, the fundamental social institution of civilization. The *home* became the unit of government, and never before in history has the home life been developed as it has been on this continent and under this Government. Land ownership became the rule and not the exception. Men took up land and reaped the rewards of their own toil. Having the virgin soil of a full continent, America's history is written in economic independence and prosperity. Out of this prosperity grew our free political institutions, and this land became a land of freedom and equality. The people became resourceful and independent, and developed high moral conceptions of life, resulting in "mass morals," not "class morals." "Man is a creative force, a child of God," says the American pioneer, "and here, there shall be no slave nor king, no bond and free, but all shall have power to realize their higher selves." This becomes the foundation of the new American religion. Free to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, the American people have developed a new conception of the meaning of religion, based on the eternal fact that man is a god in embryo, and that through him, the Eternal speaks and makes known His divine laws. A man should no more become a law unto himself religiously, than a law unto himself politically.

The American became the inventor, and free to act, he learned to control the elements, and to master the laws of Nature. While he has been criticised as unreflective and un-philosophical, yet he has developed an idealism, and no place in the world has Labor, the greatest behest of man, been so idealized as by the American artist. The American has conquered peaceably a virgin continent. At the very root of our civilization has been the institution of agriculture, giving us our wealth and varied economic life. The conquerors have been rich in courage and intelligence, and the results are seen today in our democratic government, as well as our intellectual and social, religious, and political institutions. America is a new nation; it is in the making, and the two great forces in its perfecting are God and man. God is working through men, and there is fast growing a newer and higher conception of man's destiny and the des-

tiny of the nations of all the world. In the great conflict now going on in Europe, the nations have turned to us, and we have responded to the call of millions of people who see their destruction by the military autocracy of Germany. It is the noblest act of history, and is destined to "make the world safe for democracy." The United States will be the savior of the world. Its ideals will become the ideals of all peoples, its truths and conceptions of justice, the truths and justice of all nations. But we are in the making; our ideals are being formed and realized from day to day. In his interesting drama, the "Melting Pot," Israel Zangwill describes the idealism of the American as it is today, and will be. The conversation is between Vera, a Christian girl, and David, a Jewish violinist and composer, whose help Vera is asking:

"*Vera*—So your music finds inspiration in America?

"*David*—Yes—in the seething of the Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand (*Graphically illustrating it on the table.*) in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you've come to—these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all. God is making the American. He will be the fusion of all races, the coming superman. Ah, what a glorious Finale for my symphony—if I can only write it."

This is the Land of Promise, seen in vision by Isaiah of old, when he analyzed the nature of the true nation of the future. Justice shall rule the hearts of the people, the spirit of mercy shall be the ideal of the children, and reverence, which is the recognition of the voice of God, shall be the guiding principle of all men. "We have a strong city: salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth shall enter in."

Civilization and World Peace

By Milton Bennion, Dean of the School of Education.

What is the place of war in civilization? This raises the whole problem of the function of evil in the world.

Evils may be classified as physical, such as earthquakes, pestilence and drought; and moral, such as injustice, dishonesty, and debauchery. Why these things are and what their purpose in the world is are questions that have puzzled mankind from the beginnings of philosophical thinking until now. One of the most classical literary expressions of the problem is the Book of Job, where the predominating motive is religious. Many exponents of the religious view of the world have attempted to reconcile the fact of evil in the world with the assumption of the omnipotence and perfection of God, while skeptics have used these same facts as evidence against religion and in support of agnosticism or atheism.

It is not our purpose to pursue this question from the religious standpoint. A purely humanitarian view of the matter raises this question, What is the end of man and how is evil related to the attainment of this end?

In the first place, physical perfection cannot be the ultimate goal, much less can ease or freedom from all harm and danger. Man and the world are so constituted that these ends are impossible. Moreover, man develops through struggle to overcome obstacles and to ward off evils. Men whose lives have been uneventful and commonplace have been transformed into heroic figures by the sudden social disturbance caused by a violent earthquake. The fight against disease has likewise often brought similar results. It is not, of course, the disease that does this, but the fight against disease. Paradoxical as it may seem, these physical evils that seem to justify themselves because they stimulate human development are not to be sought. Character is not developed by a person's becoming a voluntary martyr to disease germs or by suffering the violence of an earthquake just for the experience. On the contrary, mankind has developed

through his efforts to combat diseases and, in so far as possible, to nullify the evil effects of nature's calamities.

The case of moral evil is not so simple, although from the standpoint of those that are striving to overcome it, its function is similar to that of physical evil. The effort of one people to oppress another offers opportunity for resistance that may bring out the most heroic characters. Such public heroes have generally been brought to light in just this way. What would Washington have been without the War of the Revolution and the struggles and uncertainties of our early national life? And what of Lincoln without slavery and the Civil War? Has any champion of right ever arisen except in opposition to the prevalence of wrong somewhere? These wrongs are moral evils for which individuals or societies are sponsors.

If we may agree that moral development is the end of man and society, those that fight against wrong are indeed fortunate; but what can be said for those against whom they fight? We can only hope that those who champion wrong do so in ignorance, that they fight a losing cause, and that they or their successors may some day become enlightened. This applies to war as it does to every variety of moral struggle. There can be no justification for any war that is not a moral struggle; and, of course, no justification for those that fight on the wrong side when a moral issue is being thus settled.

While world peace is the goal toward which civilization is moving, so long as any nation resorts to arms as a means of aggression or in support of any form of wrong, military resistance, as a last resort, will always be a virtue. Moreover, those that fight in a righteous cause must fight doubly hard. Upon their success depends the cause of humanity and progress.



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